1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Northeast Brazil SO1

BB 565 184 It is easy to over-emphasize the cultural differences between classes and between areas within the Recôncavo. It is possible to assemble an array of significant cultural differences on a class or areal basis, as has been done above. But underneath these differences there seems to exist an implicit and almost universally shared way of life. As far as most of the people are concerned, Recôncavo society is probably best viewed as a cultural continuum of great vertical range, in which extreme positions are occupied by the cosmopolitan upper class of Salvador and the more remote agricultural people of the BB 184 lower class. The validity of the concept of the Recôncavo as a cultural region is recognized by the anthropologist who studies Recôncavo society and by Brazilians who characterize the man of the BB NB 184 Recôncavo as a particular type. This Recôncavo continuum or sub-culture is a part of what Wagley has called the cultural region of the Northeastern Coast. Also included within this region are coastal Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Sergipe.[12] In turn, the Northeastern Coast is a part of the Brazilian cultural region.

BB 178 565 596 The Family. One of the basic social institutions which has strong historical roots in the Recôncavo, and in the other colonial sugar cane regions, is the Brazilian family. The most conspicuous survival of the colonial family is the present-day family stereotype of the aristocratic stratum of Recôncavo society.

> The large, aristocratic, patriarchal family always has been the most important of Brazil's social institutions. Rarely has this primary kinship group had to play a role secondary to that of the church, as so frequently has been true in Spanish-American countries; nor has its relative importance ever been seriously challenged by the school, as may be the case in a North-American community. In colonial times such a large, closely knit group of relatives, acknowledging allegiance to the oldest living male, possessing many slaves, and carrying on the aristocratic tradition at its best, was the chief instrument employed in the occupation of Brazil. This

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

178
565
596

> was in sharp contrast to the colonization of Spanish America where the conquistador and the priest were largely responsible for establishing the Spaniards as a ruling caste, and to the founding of the English colonies in North America where the community and the smaller, more equalitarian family were basic elements. As has been shown so well by Freyre's monumental work, the patriarchal form of social organization early obtained almost unlimited sway in Brazil. For centuries Portuguese America continued to be dominated by a few thousand casas grandes, seats of sugar engenhos and cattle fazendas, each of which was the fortress headquarters of a numerous clan. Even today there remains much of this feudal type of social organization, and this great family is the institution through which the white or near-white upper class maintains its control. Of course this patriarchal family has little in common with the equalitarian family of the United States and western Europe.[13]

565
596 The colonial family is the idealized family of both the aristocratic upper class in Salvador and the sugar cane zone and of the local upper classes in the smaller cities. It also corresponds rather closely to the actual family structure of much of the upper class of the Recôncavo. The lower class families of the Recôncavo seem to have quite a different functional character and social significance.

565
582 The Upper Class Family. Marriage, contracted almost exclusively from within the class group, has the important function of uniting the relatively small number of large extended families which compose the
594
596 upper class. The unit families, parents and children, of the Recôncavo are relatively large, in conformation to the Brazilian stereotype of five children. This unit family is tightly enclosed in a net of relationships with the extended families of both husband and wife, and many social functions are centered within these larger groups.

565
596 The upper class child is reared within a well-defined circle which includes the immediate family, the servants--who frequently have
861
357
591 a quasi-parental relationship to the children, like the legendary "mammy" of the United States South--and the more immediate members of the extended family.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 the extended family. The upper class child develops in an atmosphere
596 of alternate indulgence and discipline, with very few responsibilities.
861 [872] Most upper class children attend private schools, which are usually parochial.

565 The social status of the upper class individual is determined by birth and is maintained by the economic and social standing of the individual and his family. The specific determinants of status--wealth, occupation, education, kin relations, and physical appearance[14]--are either fixed or are strongly influenced by the family.

565 596 In the Recôncavo the extended upper class family frequently has a diversified economic structure which enables it to safeguard effectively the position of the individual and the group. Ideally the family group includes the usinéiro (sugar mill owner or administrator), the fazendéiro (cane planter), the doctor, the lawyer-politician, and the urban business man. These various individuals cooperate to build and to maintain the economic, political, and social position of the family. These activities constitute the principal responsibility of the males of the family and justify, it is believed, the characteristic masculine superiority of the society.

565 588 [592] The Lower Class Family. Some of the upper class characteristics are shared by lower class families, especially by the upper stratum, but the contrasts are striking. Lower class families in the Recôncavo seem to have less stability and a less extended character than those of the upper class. Common law marriages and church marriages, not legally binding in Brazil, are quite common and are easily dissolved. The common law marriages of the young adults are frequently temporary, but most older adults seem to establish permanent unions.[15]

565 596 Though kinship relationships are always recognized and cherished, the extended family of the lower class is widely dispersed, and its economic role is usually minor.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of
796 a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious pro-
[184] cession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and
562 in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed
369 women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns.
565 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of
596 the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class
369 family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class
571 families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class
621 families are local. The areally and biologically extended families
59 of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

000
*565
571
175
425
* 58
249
[594]
●[596]

the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

175
571
596
*249
*565

Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

175
*565
571
* 249
[423]
[669]

As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

* 175
* 249
* 565
578

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

7. The Family

THE FAMILIES of Vila Recôncavo carry out the usual functions of this kinship unit to a greater or lesser degree, depending mainly upon their class and their internal structure. There are extremes of family structure in the area: Class A families represent a tightly built and extensive, extended, "patriarchal" organization, constantly giving evidence of its strong solidarity, while Class D is characterized by a loose and weak organization of small, immediate families and part families of women with their children.

Class A in the community of Vila Recôncavo is represented by five family lines which own practically all the sugar lands in the area. Two of these families, the Condes and the Jacuipes, are closely interwoven by first-cousin marriages; a third, the Aliança family, is related to these two by marriage. The remaining two families are not related to those just mentioned nor to each other. There is little or no contact between them and the other families, for they spend little time in the rural area, and in Salvador they belong to circles composed of their own extended families. The Conde, Jacuipe, and Aliança families come into occasional contact with the other two at public functions in Salvador, but hardly ever at smaller social gatherings. They spend more time in the rural area, where they are more active politically than the other two. If the roots of these three families were traced back a century or so, it would be seen that they are also related to many other families of local planters and usineiros. Because of the tremendous growth of the numbers in each of the families, they have grown apart, each branch preserving its own nuclear group. Each generation brings new intermar-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

*565
•596 riages and realignments between branches of these old families.

The Conde and Jacuipe families are good examples of family structure and cohesiveness in Class A. The Conde family is the principal owner of the factory, while several members of the Jacuipe family have stock in the corporation. The ancestral plantation of the Jacuipe family lies outside, although near, the community of Vila Recôncavo and is rented to a neighboring factory. Dona Sinhá, a member of the Jacuipe family and widow of a Conde, owns Fazenda das Moças within the community, a property adjoining the lands of Usina São Pedro. The Conde and Aliança families are joined by a mar-
[423] riage which has brought them into close contact. The Aliança family has three plantations in the community. Thus ten of the eleven functioning plantations in the area belong to the members of three interrelated extended families.

The senior member of the Conde family, the "Colonel," is one of the two men who founded the factory and the brother of the senior member of the Jacuipe family, Dona Yayá, now a widow. A son and a daughter of the Colonel married a daughter and a son of Dona Yayá, thus strengthening the ties between the two families. The Condes are represented by three generations: the mother and father, their eleven children, ten of whom are married, and their twenty-three grandchildren. The Jacuipe family is represented by four generations: Dona Yayá, her eight children, seven of whom are married, twenty-six grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. Through marriages in the second descending generation of both families, seventeen more persons have been brought into the family group, and through marriages of the third descendent Jacuipe generation six more people have been added. The total
[162] number of persons in the two immediate families is ninety-seven. Nineteen members of the Jacuipe family now live in Rio de Janeiro, reducing the number constantly present in Bahia to seventy-eight. Those in Rio, however, maintain con-
[528] stant communication with Bahia and often spend their vacations "home" in Salvador.

The Colonel and his wife, and the Colonel's sister Dona
[474] Yayá, form the nucleus around which the two extended kindred groups are organized. At the factory there are three residences: the large chalet, where the Colonel and his wife live, and a house apiece for his son and son-in-law, who are the two active directors of the factory. There are accommodations

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units.

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em família. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons.

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family.

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy

[Class A Families]

will take the girl to his family gatherings and that he will be invited to hers, so that their lives continue to be within the family, though now within two families. There are so few public places of entertainment in Salvador, other than the movies, that the couple is seldom alone. Dating nearly always takes place in family circles, so there is little need for a formal chaperone. Courtship continues until the boy has finished school (if it began that early, as it sometimes does), or is settled in business, at which time an engagement may be announced. Once the couple are engaged (noivos), they are allowed greater freedom; this does not, however, amount to much, as their social activities continue to be confined within the family. If for some reason the boy or the girl goes away for a time, the one left at home is invited to all family parties just as though both were there. The engagement period does not last very long--not as long as the gostando period, which may extend for two years--for once engaged, a couple is considered to be serious about marriage, which then takes place as soon as possible.

The wedding, always in Salvador, is both a religious and a civil ceremony. The former is a formal, fashionable church ceremony followed by a reception and luncheon, before the bride and groom leave for their honeymoon. The civil wedding takes place in the bride's home shortly before the religious ceremony. Only the godparents and closest relatives attend this ceremony. After marriage the couple usually set up their own home, but if this is not possible they may live with one of their in-laws. This, however, is undesirable, and often the wedding is postponed until the couple can have their own home. The parents on both sides help toward this end as much as they can by getting the young man settled in a suitable position. Family connections are extremely important throughout Class A in placing young people in business or a profession.

As a rule a child is born to the young couple by the end of the first year of marriage, and the compadres (godparents) are chosen from close members of the two families, at least for the first child. Succeeding children may have close friends of the father as godparents. Children are named after family members of preceding generations or--as has happened in some cases--after a much-loved slave. The old pattern was for the couple to continue having children regularly as long as the wife was able to, but the trend is now for each generation

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

565*
594
163
178
[463]

to have fewer offspring. Four or five generations ago a couple might have as many as twenty children. It was common among these large families for at least one child to enter the priesthood or a convent. This is no longer the case, not only because of the smaller size of the families, but also because the colonial pattern of a priest for each plantation is now gone.

582
178
562
565*
[463]
[736]

The marriage age for girls is also changing, for several reasons: it takes longer for a boy now to be educated and settled in business; the families can no longer support married children; and girls are being better educated. Instead of being married at sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, they now go to school much longer, sometimes taking advanced degrees as do their brothers. This delays marriage till the twenties and gives the girls a certain amount of independence, rather than simply a position of wife and mother. As yet few of them have entered the professions, but recently it has become stylish to study nursing or social work at least for a while before marriage. The old pattern was for widows to be supported by their families, but now girls want to feel self-sufficient, without the dreary prospect of living as dependents in the case of their husbands' death. In this century, also, marriage has assumed an aspect of companionship, which was formerly lacking, for women have achieved a much greater equality with their husbands and are now partners rather than household fixtures.

565*
596
178
574
[206]

There has been a reaction to the family aspect of Bahian society, and frequently people are heard complaining of the narrowness of life in such surroundings and expressing a desire to live in Rio de Janeiro, or some place where they would not be always in the same restricted group of relatives. Many of the former obligations of formal visits to close and distant relatives are now relaxed, although telephone calls at least are expected with some sort of regularity and members of the extended family, as well as their attendants, are still expected at all weddings, birthdays, and deaths. The arrival of family members from Rio calls for many dinners and celebrations in their honor. But the conjugal families seek outside acquaintances more and more, and as they enter new groups they become less able to cope with the numerous family affairs. Nevertheless, it is still membership in these extensive, patriarchal families which gives people their status in the community as a whole and their right to enter new groups which form along class lines. Everyone is well aware of this, and

571
565*
596
178
[594]
[554]

*565
•596 the first thing done on making new acquaintances is to inquire
[178] into their family background and place them mentally on the
[571] appropriate social level.

As a rule each extended family has a head, usually the oldest male. He is recognized by the rest of the family as the leader, and few things are done by them without his knowledge and advice. The head of the Jacuipe family is the eldest son of Dona Yayá. He has made his home in Rio de Janeiro and has not lived in Salvador for a long time. Nevertheless, he is informed of all that goes on within the family, and no serious step would be taken by any member without his counsel. On the local scene, however, it is his next younger sister who has taken the family lead in all social activities. It is she who sees to it that the family is represented at any function where it is a duty to appear. Among the Condes, the Colonel is still the family head in spite of his age and infirmity. For many years his eldest son showed himself capable of taking charge of the sugar mill and of the family fortunes as well, but since his untimely death none of the other sons has shown such vigor, and in the long run major decisions are left to the old gentleman.

[594] In the conjugal households, however, decisions and actions are made jointly by the married partners. Unless the action is a very serious one which might affect the rest of the family, they need by no means seek advice from the family head. The family leader has no strong control over the other members of the family; rather, he is someone to whom they can go if they need advice. Also, if any member of the family is in difficulties of any sort, the rest of the group rallies around him under the direction of such a person. Because of the many positions in public life occupied by members of these extended families, the family is able to muster considerable pistolão ("pull") in many fields. Requests are frequently made,
[557] especially to aid lower-class people who look to the various family members as patrons. A call here or there by the recognized leader of a large extended family can be a great assistance in getting someone into the already crowded hospitals, in helping with a will which has become entangled in legal difficulties, in getting a young man into the Air Force, and in the myriad other things which arise in this very personalized culture.

[73] The cohesiveness of the extended family also acts to take
[589] care of the aged, infirm, widowed, and unmarried. Not infre-

565*
quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains 596
home with her parents, taking care of them until they have 589
passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrange- 73
ments for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family.

Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only ves- 565*
tiges remain, which however are still important: the contin- 596
ued close relationship of family members, even though sep- 178
arated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cousins, and the strong pattern of life em família; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major de- [562]
parture from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home.

Birthdays are the most important occasions in these fami- 565*
lies aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the planta- 596
tion, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an al- 527
moço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the planters sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them. The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, 565*
usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and 596
meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly 527
seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de 262
camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil), and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

[Class A Families]

[Class B Families]

178
42

such families also usually had fairly extensive accumulations of silver service, china and crystal, and linens. It was the custom for such possessions to be distributed among the heirs as separate items. One son would receive a plantation in the Recôncavo, another a ranch in the sertão; a daughter might receive a full and valuable set of table service, or perhaps a whole house and its furnishings in Salvador. Single plantations were almost never divided, unless they were large enough to make such a division practicable. Property divisions were often made rather arbitrarily by the family patriarch, and were often bitterly disputed by the heirs after his death. Slaves were also part of the property divided, although it was not infrequent that certain favorite slaves were freed at such a time. In other cases, the favorite slave of a son or daughter would be willed to him by the father. Through inheritances and constant divisions, the former large holdings of these aristocratic families came to be well broken up.

Today in the event of a death in a family, there is often only one plantation in which the heirs may share. However, the plantation is rarely divided. In some cases where there is no strong emotional tie to the plantation, the heirs may sell it outright and share the proceeds. Another solution has been to rent the plantation to a factory and thereby delay the final solution. Still another has been for one of the heirs to take over the management of the plantation, paying a rental fee to the other heirs. A final solution is often reached by allowing one of the heirs to purchase the plantation from his coinheritors, and in this way the plantation and its traditions remain in the family, and are to some extent shared by all members of the extended family.

42
473

The problem of land disposal exists only for the private plantation. In the case of factory lands, ownership is corporate. Death of the holder of shares in the corporation does not affect the land tenure, which goes on as before. His shares in the corporation are simply distributed among his heirs.

565*
594
[596]
[184]

The family pattern in Class B is quite different from that which has just been described. Although the conjugal family is equally small and shows the same trend toward diminution, there is never the extent or strength of the extended family which exists in Class A. In Vila Recôncavo, with only one exception, Class B families are only conjugal units without local tradition of generations in the area, for either they are couples who have recently come to the town in governmental

[Class B Families]

565 594 capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, [166] especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to [871] the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

565 517 [571] [596] [574] [562] [871] [166] [183] [528] 565 562 517 As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there is little social gathering, especially for the women. There are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one another's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marrying and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and festivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower-class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their mothers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brasilians 8011

VILA RECÔNCAVO

9. *Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo*

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

Bt Hutchinson E-4,5 (1960-1961) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

poration has extensive landholdings in other parts of the state, but they are exploited on an impersonal, profit basis, not on the traditional, paternalistic basis common in the sugar area.

The Helvetians have taken a place in the upper ranks of Bahian society, representing new money and economic power. Their history is important. The original immigrant married into a Bahian family of "good name," and all of his sons have done the same. One of them married a daughter of the Coronel, founder of Usina São Pedro. It was through this marriage that the transfer of the factory was channeled. Today, although the Condes still own stock in the corporation, the Helvetians have the controlling interest, and the Condes are gradually selling their shares to the Helvetians.

The new corporation has brought about many changes in administration of the factory. Although still a family corporation, it has become, from the wider, community, point of view, a strictly business enterprise with no family ties and no face-to-face personal relations. A new directorship and management was established. The new "boss" of the factory is a man from a different part of the state, and his background is entirely different from that of sugar-cane growers. The thread of "family" is still unbroken, for the new manager is related to the new owning family by marriage. He is treated, however, as a paid employee of the corporation. His brother, now general administrator of the agricultural part of the factory-in-the-field, is treated similarly.

These two new managers have put the relations between management and labor on a strictly business basis and have removed all elements of paternalism. Upon taking over, they dismissed most of the older, higher-level factory, field, and office workers. Administrators, mechanics, and bookkeepers, most of whom had seen twenty years or more of service, were dispatched. New people came to take their places, and some of the vacancies were filled by promotions. Time clocks were installed, and the system of authority was reinforced all the way down the line. Social legislation--a new factor in rural, agricultural Brazil--was invoked to take the place of paternalism.

Thus the old, paternalistic, personal, owner-director pattern has changed completely. The chalet is no longer the scene of family gatherings for summer vacations, for Carnaval, or for Christmas; even the traditional Botada has undergone a

565

for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

(596)

565
463

The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have residences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

[871]

[563]

The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

[464]

The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

B
BB
175
576
567
571
[596]

The "wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil,"[71] which impressed some commentators as contributing to the favored treatment of Brazilian slaves, was an integral part of a social order in which the large family was the principal unit of cohesion. Under such conditions the network of personal relations arising out of the intimate contact of master and slave not only tempered but, over a period of time, tended to destroy the formal barriers between them. "The Negro is everywhere among the Brazilians," wrote Codman, "and they understand him thoroughly."[72]

B
BB
175
567
571
B
BB
[177]

It was usually among the newly arrived Africans, the field hands, or those blacks like the semi-independent *negros de ganho*, all of whom were not in intimate contact with the whites, that escapes and insurrections occurred. Some of these Negroes at times affected scorn and contempt of whites.[73] But those who were in close contact with the Europeans over a period of time developed sentiments of "belonging together," of loyalty and affection. Under such cir-

[71] "One afternoon I sat in a street car of the Copacabana line running to and from the heart of Rio de Janeiro city. As we approached the Avenida and paused at a sharp turn at the regulator's signal, a small boy poorly clad in cotton clothes got onto the front platform with a dinner pail in his hand. He set it down, removed his cap, bent his knee as the motorman, with a swift smile at the child, extended his right hand. The boy respectfully kissed it, replaced his cap, and jumped down. The little incident was typical of the wide spread of gentle manners in Brazil; it is here usual enough to see elderly bankers kiss the hands of their parents, but courtesy is not confined to the upper classes. . . . Brazilian men meeting each other in the street a dozen times a day, lift their hats every time to each other" (L. E. Elliott, *Brazil, Today and Tomorrow* [New York, 1917], p. 76).

[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[73] Bennett (*op. cit.*, p. 9) mentions the following incident from Pernambuco: "One evening when we were walking along the Rua Nova, a black woman who was passing us suddenly drew aside with a lofty air, exclaiming: 'O meu Deus, os brancos perto de mim!' (Oh, my God, whites near me!)"

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

One reason why race mixture in Bahia is more extensive than in the United States is that in Bahia it goes on by legal intermarriage in a less restricted way than with us. Although interbreeding between individuals from extreme ends of the color scale is largely extra-legal, intermarriage becomes more frequent as the colors approach along this continuum.

The general tendency is for the predominantly European portion of the population to absorb the lighter mixed-bloods while the mulattoes in turn absorb the blacks. This means that the Brazilian population is constantly becoming more European, less negroid, in appearance, a tendency which is referred to by local intellectuals as "progressive Aryanization." As Oliveira Vianna has said: "Podemos já assignalar .... uma tendencia que cada vez mais se precisa e define: a tendencia para a aryanização progressiva dos nossos grupos regionaes. Isto é, *o coefficiente da raça branca eleva-se cada vez mais em nossa população.*"[180]

Family ties are, as we have noted, tenacious. Loyalty to the clan still today transcends loyalty to the state, the church, or any other institution. There is strong personal attachment between white parents and colored offspring, both legitimate and illegitimate, and these ties obviously place the mulatto in an advantageous position for social advancement.

It is commonly thought in Brazil that the Brazilian

from Germany. The man also sent money to a second Negro woman, her two girls and a boy, for whom he, while still in Brazil, had built a comfortable home.

[180] "A progressive whitening of our population is clearly evident. In other words, the proportion of white blood is constantly increasing" (*Evolução do povo brasileiro* [2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933], p. 172). See also João Pandiá Calogeras, *Formação historica do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938), p. 36.